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DIRECTORATE OF  
INTELLIGENCE

# Intelligence Memorandum

*The Strait of Malacca: A Passageway of International Concern*

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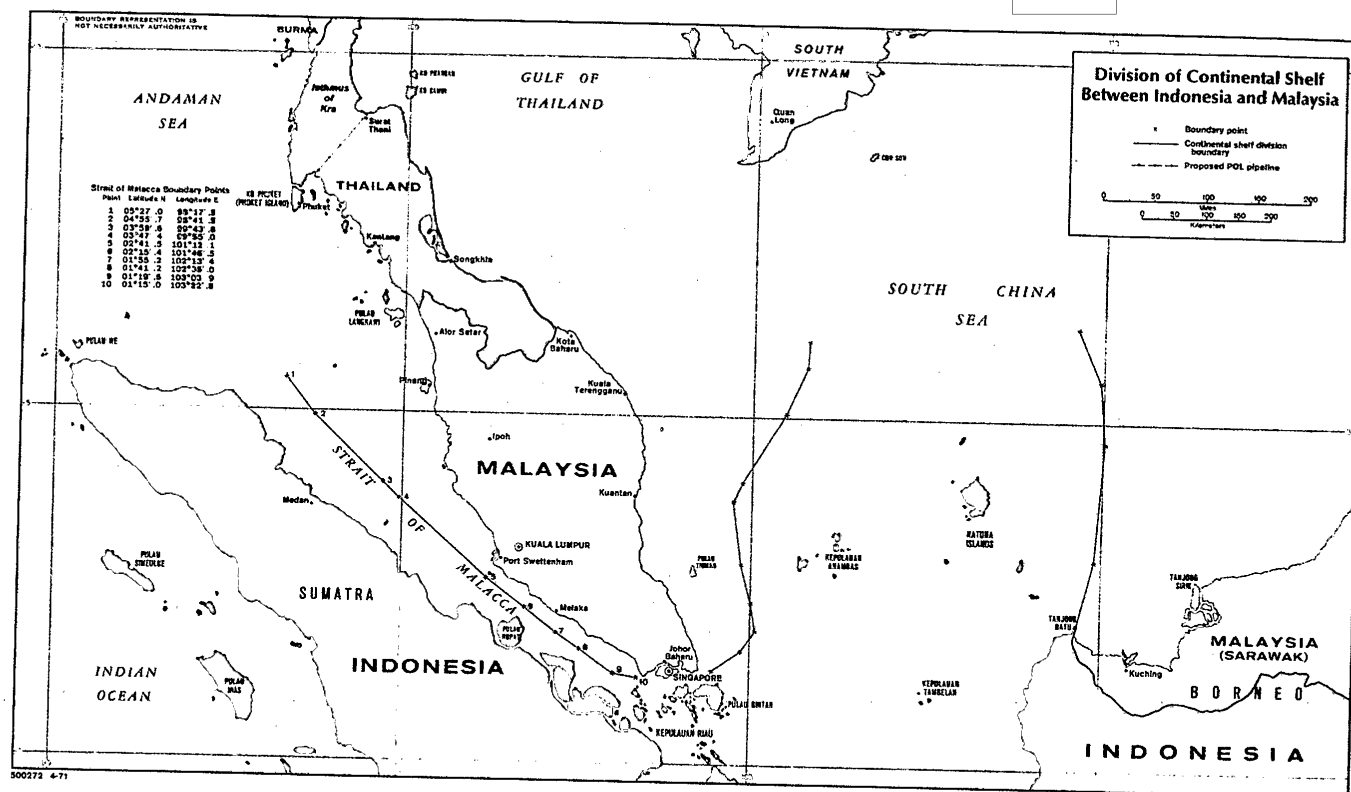
April 1971  
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Recognition of the value of the strait as a direct connection between the Indian Ocean and the South China Sea probably first occurred about 650 B.C., following Indian explorations into the Indonesian Archipelago. It was not until about the 4th century A.D., however, that the strait began to attract constant commercial use as a favored passageway for maritime trade between India and China. As trading activities expanded to include much of the Indonesian Archipelago, the northwest-

The Strait of Malacca is vulnerable to blockage by either natural causes or deliberate interdictory action. Closure of it, however, would have less of an impact on the world than the blockage of the Suez Canal, but



such an action would nevertheless have serious regional consequences.

Recent hydrographic surveys have revealed major inaccuracies in previously accepted depth soundings in the strait. These inaccuracies are due in large part to the sediments that have accumulated since the last surveys were made. For example, the depth of one location, shown on hydrographic charts as 54 feet, was discovered to be actually only 20 feet deep. At another location in the most commonly used channel, sand waves and shoals were charted at a depth of 22 feet. More accurate and complete surveys will probably indicate a need for dredging to insure channel depths and widths that provide an acceptable margin of navigational safety. Dredged channels commonly require continuous maintenance; if dredging is neglected or interrupted for prolonged periods, large ships may not be able to use the strait.

By interdictory actions the adjoining nations could close the strait entirely or permit it to be opened only to limited traffic. All of them have the capability to unilaterally harass shipping under the guise of exercising sovereign rights in territorial waters.\* Such actions might include the interception and delay of ships that are alleged to have either intruded the territorial sea in a hostile manner or to have violated the sanitation, health,

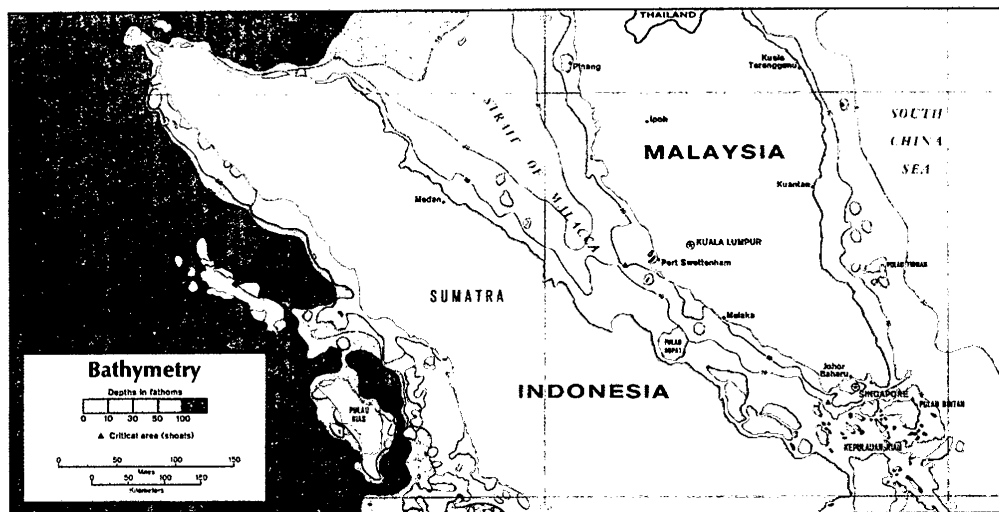
\*The territorial sea is a zone of 3 to 12 or more miles extending seaward from the coast of a state. Complete sovereignty is maintained over the zone claimed by the coastal state, subject to the right of innocent passage. Indonesia and Malaysia claim a 12-mile territorial sea; Singapore claims a 3-mile zone. The band of water extending 6 miles beyond Singapore's territorial sea is considered a contiguous zone. International acceptance has historically permitted a coastal state to exercise such prerogatives as custom control and enforcement of public health regulations in the waters of its contiguous zone.

or customs regulations of the coastal nation. Numerous small craft, ostensibly "fishing" in the more hazardous passages, could impede the movement of large ships, which are always anxious to avoid collisions and the possible international incidents arising therefrom. Naval maneuvers, unannounced shifting of navigational aids, or intentional interference with shipboard electronic navigational systems in or near the strait also could restrict or interrupt normal traffic.

Localized conflict, such as the Indonesia-Malaysian confrontation in the period of 1963-1965, could generate conditions that would make strait passage uncertain at best. Such latent threats cause Japan, which is almost totally dependent on petroleum transiting the strait, to be especially concerned with developments in the area. Japanese sensitivity was amply demonstrated when Malaysia announced its claim of a 12-mile territorial sea

in October 1969; Japan immediately presented a formal diplomatic protest to Kuala Lumpur, but Malaysia, anticipating this reaction, ignored the protest. As Indonesia already claimed a 12-mile territorial sea, this Malaysian announcement theoretically removed most of the waters of the strait from the high seas. In practice, however, the right of innocent passage prevails to the obvious benefit of all nations.

Finally, the strait is vulnerable to naval blockade. Entrances are restricted, thus permitting tight control by patrolling surface craft. The strait could also be blocked by the defensive mining of selected channel transit points. It is questionable, however, that the sinking of ships in the shallow waters of narrow channels would be effective. Such an extreme measure might be self-defeating, an act of desperation that would block the channel to all nations.



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#### ALTERNATE ROUTES

##### Existing Passages

The Sunda Strait and the Lombok Strait, located about 7° and 10° south of Singapore, respectively, offer alternate passages into the Indian Ocean. Utilization of either of them, however, would add appreciably to the average length of voyage. This, in turn, would increase the operational costs\* of shipping companies and reduce the number of round trips that could be made in a given period of time; to the military, the cost of using an alternative passage is measured primarily by the additional time required to deploy fleet elements from one ocean to another.

The Sunda Strait, between Sumatra and Java, is 12 miles wide and has a limiting depth of 162 feet; it is divided by a small island into two channels, 4 and 5½ miles wide, respectively. The Lombok Strait, between Bali and Lombok, has a minimum channel width of 5½ miles and a minimum depth of 1,110 feet. The use of the Lombok Strait by mammoth tankers carrying Persian Gulf oil to Japanese ports would add 3 days and another 1,000 nautical miles to the voyage; if the Sunda Strait were used, about 2 days and an additional 700 miles would be required.

The vulnerability of the Strait of Malacca has fostered a wide range of contingency plans concerning the bypass of these potentially troublesome waters. The most widely discussed proposal is one that would create another passage across Thailand's Kra Isthmus. This concept is not new; the British and French surveyed the area for this purpose in the latter part of the 19th century. The

Japanese also proposed the construction of such a canal prior to World War II, and during that war, when their forces were dominant in the region, they seriously considered building it. The necessary detailed engineering design and cost studies have never been completed, however, and other than as a sporadic issue in domestic Thai politics, this alternative to the Strait of Malacca has not been given much attention in recent years.

##### Proposed Pipeline

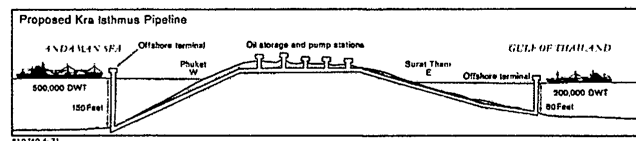
Japan's soaring dependency on Persian Gulf Oil in recent years has rekindled her interest in finding an economical alternative to the Strait of Malacca. Out of this revitalized interest a new and less expensive plan, involving an oil pipeline, has evolved. This proposed pipeline, 94 miles long, would cross the southern part of peninsular Thailand, extending overland from a point near Phuket Island on the west coast to Surat Thani on the east coast (see Diagram 510740). The 500,000-ton tankers, now being designed in Japan, would operate exclusively in the deeper waters of the Indian Ocean, and the existing fleet of smaller tankers would transport the oil from the terminus of the pipeline on the Gulf of Thailand to Japan. A Japanese study of the project was initiated about 2 years ago, and it is believed that the project could be completed in 3 or 4 years, given the approval of the Thai Government.

#### INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

An unprecedented high level of international cooperation is being directed toward the improvement of the Strait of Malacca as a shipping route. A four-nation (Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, and Singapore) preliminary hydrographic survey, undertaken in January 1969, revealed that five areas in the strait are so shallow that

they "would not be safe for giant tankers over 200,000 tons to pass through the straits at all stages of tides and night." This discovery led the same nations in the summer of 1970 to agree to carry out a full-scale hydrographic survey of the strait. Whereas all of these countries are contributing something to this joint undertaking, Japan and Indonesia are assuming a major part of the responsibility. The former is financing the survey and providing advanced technology, and the latter is furnishing the survey ships. All stand to benefit, however, should the survey lead to improvements that would assure the continuance of the strait as an avenue of commerce. This is, of course, the basic aim of Japan as well as that of the adjoining coastal states, each of which recognizes the benefits to be gained by the elimination or reduction of navigational hazards in the more restricted channels. In addition, the risks of pollution and the possible destruction of marine life, resulting from oil tanker spillage or collision, could be minimized.

The United Kingdom is also working in the straits. Their hydrographic ship *Hydra* is conducting a survey, presumably to provide information deemed essential for the implementation of British defense obligations. The *Hydra* survey, reportedly assigned in cooperation with Japanese-led surveying operations, is expected to be



\*More than \$30,000 per day on 200,000-ton tankers.

completed by April 1971.

Nations of the area, in an attempt to harmoniously develop the entire region, signed the first Asian continental shelf boundary (CSB) agreement in October 1969. In this accord, undertaken voluntarily and achieved through mutual concessions, the governments of Malaysia and Indonesia demarcated the CSB in the Strait of Malacca and the South China Sea. A few months later they reached substantial agreement on territorial waters in the Strait of Malacca. This was another significant achievement, as both nations had claimed a 12-mile territorial sea, thus provoking overlapping claims in those places where the strait is less than 24 miles wide. The territorial water boundaries agreed upon are identical with the CSB except for a very small area between boundary points 5, 6, and 7. (See Map 500273).

Relatively minor, but mutual, concessions have been made to reach these regional accords. In fear of external national and commercial interests becoming dominant in the strait, however, nations of the region may consider the creation of a littoral states strait commission. Legitimate concern about the environment, as well as the obvious commercial benefits brought by strait traffic, provides an extra measure of impetus for the creation of a regional organization that would coordinate development and provide for the control of this strategic international waterway.

#### OUTLOOK

The ever-increasing economic interdependence of world regions indicates that the tonnage of commodities transiting the strait to and from Asian commercial centers will increase. Forecasting his nation's future, Prime Minister Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore recently said, "As long as the balance of geopolitical forces in South, Southeast, and East Asia remain as they are, then Singapore's strategic value will remain undiminished." His statement appears equally valid for the entire Strait of Malacca area.

Although the British military presence in the strait area has been reduced, this policy reflects domestic retrenchment rather than a strategic reassessment of the area. Japan, China, Australia, and to a lesser extent, the United States and the Soviet Union also have individual concerns for the area. None, however, at least for the present, seem compelled to fill the "vacuum" created by the withdrawal of all but token British forces. Even if sufficiently motivated, it is unlikely that any single foreign power could achieve political predominance over the nations adjoining the Strait of Malacca in this era of rising nationalism among the developing nations.

Construction of a canal across the Kra Isthmus appears economically infeasible and unnecessary as the majority of the world's cargo ships, now in use and planned, will not require channel depths that are greater than those in the Strait of Malacca. The proposed pipeline, however, may well be constructed. It would permit the use of 500,000-ton Japanese tankers in the deeper waters of the Indian Ocean and on other deep-water routes and facilitate that nation's effort to tap a wider range of petroleum sources.

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